CHINA WEEKLY

REVIEW

密勒氏評論報

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EDITORIAL

ARE WE OBJECTIVE?

WHAT IS HAPPENING AT THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGES?

OUTER MONGOLIAN REPUBLIC'S FIVE YEAR PLAN

LIU SHAO-CHI speaks on SINO-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP

OCTOBER 29, 1949

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LETTERS From The People

Comments from readers on current topics are cordially invited: their opinions, however, do not necessarily represent the views of The China Weekly Review.

THIRD WORLD WAR?

To The Editor:

A great deal of argument has taken place in our school on the subject: Would American imperialism carry out a Third World War? Here I should like to express my view and I hope it will bring more discussion on this topic.

First of all, we must observe carefully the situation in which the American bourgeoisie find themselves. As the democratic influences in many nations are increasing at a surprising pace, the strength of the reactionary powers diminishes accordingly. It is quite obvious that the reactionaries cannot stand such developments of democratic force. They have to fight for their own existence—since there is no living together between socialist and capitalist countries, and capitalism is the very existence of American imperialism and its subordinates. Therefore, we must consider the coming war a war for survival between proletariats and bourgeoisie.

The familiar Chinese saying, "A dog would jump over the fence when he's cornered" is often taken as an example for this prophecy. Some say that the dog would not dare to jump as the fence is so high and strong. But in my opinion, the dog would jump for there are guns and bayonets chasing him, and instead of waiting for death he has to choose the hopeful way for his survival. Practically speaking, from American imperialism's point of view, the strength of the democratic forces is not yet very much stronger than that of their own. Therefore, it is worthwhile and necessary for them to stake their future upon a Third World War.

CHIANG CHUN

Chiang-Chia-Ko
October 15, 1949.

LANDLORD FOUND

To The Editor:

I couldn't figure out why my houseboy was viewing the liberation of Shanghai with such grumbling. I had always considered him one of the exploited class, for certainly servant's work leaves a lot to be desired. And I had finally decided that his main gripe was seeing so many foreigners leave and realizing that many houseboys in foreign homes were now out of work.

He viewed all my cheerfulness over stable prices and even the big parades with a down-in-the-month grunt. And he repeated all the familiar rumors, including the one that Chiang Kai-shek would be back for Double Tenth.

Then some of his friends arrived from Wenchow, his native place, and told him of the almost daily bombings of that town. His three children who are staying there have been spending every day out in the countryside as a precaution against the bombings and can only go to their school in the evenings. Since we were also having our fair share of scare bombings in Shanghai, I asked him if he didn't think the Kuomintang was very bad in killing

innocent people and destroying their homes.

Wong's answer to that was: The new people are worse; they take away people's land. I asked him why that should bother him. The story came out. By working hard for foreigners for more than 15 years, not including the time during the Japanese occupation when he went back to his home, he had saved up enough to buy 50 mow of land, less than ten acres. He was afraid that part of that might be taken from him. I couldn't believe it at first that Wong, who in my eyes seemed so very poor, could become a landlord. If Wong is considered of that class, how terribly, terribly poor the real peasants must be.

I thought of Wong's case especially when I heard a foreign friend say that she was sure the Chinese people didn't really support the new regime, and then quoted her cook as an authority. Though it is impossible for most of us foreigners to visualize the utter poverty of the many millions of Chinese peasants, I feel I have just a little bit better idea from Wong.

M. C. L.

Shanghai
October 22, 1949

TOO MANY WIVES

To The Editor:

With the liberation of Canton and the mass exodus of the remnant KMT "dignitaries" fleeing to Chungking, the wartime capital, Szechuen province becomes the subject of popular talk among the Szechuenese community here.

The other day I happened to participate in one of these talks at which all the Szechuenese agreed that their province supplies more Communist generals than any other province. Generals Chu Teh, Liu Po-cheng, Chen Yi and Hsu Hsiang-chuen are all natives of Szechuen.

When they spoke of KMT generals, I was particularly interested in one of them named Yang Sen, now mayor of Chungking. He is a very rich landlord and has about a dozen wives and nearly 100 children. As so many wives serve only for the purpose of his sensual enjoyment, he must find an effective and strict means to control and manage them.

It is no easy task to keep all these women under control for they are jealous of each other and would like to have outside affairs. So Yang resorts to cruelty and puts any wife to death whom he finds unfaithful to him. He has given each of his wives a serial number and when he wants one of them to spend the night with him, his attendant chalks the serial number of that wife on a blackboard.

He treats his sons and daughters as if they were soldiers. They must have their meals together at the same time and all receive the same amount of pocket money. It is very interesting that sometimes Yang is unable to recognize one of them.

As to the methods of his acquiring a wife, my Szechuenese friends told me that he is very clever at this. Though sometimes his methods are very complicated, he generally has to use 1) force, 2) money, 3) personal government influence.

Now the PLA is not far from the wartime capital of Chungking and we shall all be able to have a good look at this feudal-minded warlord of China, if he can be caught alive.

D. C. LEE

Shanghai
October 23, 1949.

BANDIT CHIANG

To The Editor:

Will you please publish the enclosed letter of mine to bandit Chiang Kai-shek in your esteemed paper as I do not know either his address in Taiwan or in Chungking?

Very truly yours,
C. C. S.

Dear Bandit Chiang,

For 22 years, you ruled the entire country as dictator and made fortunes for you, your immediate associates and your family members at the expense of the people. That the people do not like you can be seen from the simple fact that you have to fight every year to keep yourself in power. Tens of thousands of people suffered and died because of your lust for power and wealth.

At last the people have arisen and, under the leadership of the Communist Party, have beaten your troops and liberated one city after another. Now, you have no government to speak of, hiding yourself in Taiwan and Chungking. At this time, under the present circumstances, can't you find some time to review your past deeds, and find an explanation of your present plight? Aren't you moved at all by the death of your two bosom friends—Tai Chi-tao and Chen Pu-lai—who committed suicide because of the utterly uselessness and meaningless of your continued fighting? Bandit Chiang, it's time for you to surrender and give up. It is true, the Second World War saved you from downfall. Do not depend too much on the outbreak of a Third World War is my advice.

For years, you have been surrounded by advisers and friends from the imperialistic countries and capitalistic

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class. Where are they now? Are your brother-in-law, T. V. Soong and H. H. Kung, who made billions with you fighting beside you? If your KMT government has any principle to fight for, you should have the support of the KMT members. Where are they? You could not even find a single KMT member to head your Executive Yuan and have to get the warlord of Shansi to become the President.

It is your own business to be stubborn and dig your own grave. But I demand an explanation of the indiscriminate bombing of your planes in Ningpo, Shanghai, and other liberated areas. What is the meaning of these bombings?

If there is any purpose in your fighting and if there is any strength in your organization, you could have kept the People's Liberation Army outside of the Great Wall. You failed to do so. You could not even keep them north of the Yellow River, nor north of the Yangtze River. Now, they have reached Canton and liberated the entire Southwest. If I were you, I would have killed myself long ago in shame!

The bombing of innocent people will only increase the hatred of the people against you and everything associated with you. The bombing will destroy the property and wealth of the people, which your soldiers failed to loot and destroy. The bombing will not dampen the spirit of the people and their support to the new government. The bombing will hasten the attack against Taiwan, your air base and no matter where you go, you cannot escape from the trial of the people.

The leaflets which your airplanes dropped from the sky of Shanghai are thoroughly childish. Your leaflets said that the Communists brought about the flood and typhoon. Wasn't there flood and draught or some kind of natural calamity every year during the past 22 years of your rule? Your leaflets said that women are distributed to men as wives in the liberated areas. How diriculous! You leaflets and your other propaganda may fool a few of those still under your rule but not those in the liberated areas, who are working hard with high spirit in the building of a new country.

If you still have any conscious, Bandit Chiang, jump into the Taiwan channel and end it all!

C. C. S.

Kiangnan,
October 25, 1949

US COMMUNIST TRIAL

To The Editor:

The news of the illegal sentence of the American Communist leader has aroused the indignation of the people in China.

Mr. Lo Lung-chi of the Democratic League was right when he said among other things that: "The sentence of American Communists by the American imperialist court has lifted the mask which the old democracy had hitherto worn. Under the old democracy, there was supposed to be the freedom of assembly and association and political parties should be protected. Now the fact that communists are not allowed to exist in the United States, indicates clearly that the United States is tearing its own constitution to pieces. This also explains the dictatorship system exercised by the American capitalist class toward the proletariat."

The American Government's action is no surprise, as it is reactionary in nature. From the standpoint of monopolistic capitalism, it was the only course of action they could take. It will not be long for the American people to take cognisance of the situation and rise to oppose the oppression by their ruling class.

C. H. WONG.

Hangchow
October 26, 1949

HOW DO WE KNOW?

To The Editor:

While I welcome friendship with other countries, one thing that disturbs me is the sight of pictures of Lenin and Stalin in our parades along with Mao Tze-tung. I know many other people who feel this way too. How do we know that the Soviet Union is such a good friend of ours and why should we concentrate our friendship on just this one country?

It seems to me that China should extend friendship to many countries, leaning neither to one side nor the other, but standing on her own feet and maintaining her independence. Let us not divide the world in two any more than it is.

T. T. C.

Shanghai
October 24, 1949

(T.T.C. will find the answers to his questions in the full text of a recent speech by Liu Shao-chi, made upon the occasion of the inauguration of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, which is printed textually in this issue of the Review.—Editor)

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THE CHINA WEEKLY REVIEW
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Vol. 115 Shanghai, Saturday, October 29, 1949 No. 9

DEFINITION OF GOVERNMENT

SECRETARY of State Acheson recently listed three "tests" which, he said, any regime desiring to be recognized internationally as a sovereign government must pass. He laid down his three conditions in reply to a reporter's question as to whether the US was considering recognition of the new Central People's Government of China.

The three conditions are: 1) That the government should control the country that it claims to control. 2) That it should recognize its international obligations. 3) That it should rule with the acquiescence of the people who are ruled.

In the absence of a clear declaration from Washington, we are still as much in the dark as to America's intentions regarding the question of recognition as ever, since these "conditions" can be interpreted in more than one way.

Prior to this, various State Department officials have made a number of conflicting and confusing statements on the subject. One spokesman, acknowledging receipt of Chinese Foreign Minister Chou En-lai's letter announcing the formation of the new government, stated emphatically that the United States still recognized the Nationalist regime and added that he saw no occasion for hastening to reply to General Chou's letter. In a matter of days another spokesman let fly a blast at the Nationalists for detaining two American ships running the blockade into Shanghai, reiterating the State Department's view that the blockade was illegal. And so it has gone. One day hot, one day cold.

Now we have the latest pronouncement by a responsible official in the form of three "tests," the fulfillment of which he declares to be a prerequisite to recognition.

The first point, "That the government should control the country that it claims to control," appears rather reasonable. This condition is pretty well met today by the new regime, while the KMT can scarcely claim to be in real control of any sizeable section of the country, although its appointees are nominally ruling a few areas not yet overrun by the advancing PLA.

The second condition, "That it should recognize its international obligations," is something of a tickler. Since Secretary Acheson did not specify just what he meant by "international obligations," we can only speculate.

If he means that the government must assume responsibility for repayment of international debts contracted by former governments, it is doubtful if the new government of China can pass this "test." Certainly, the new regime cannot be expected to assume such old debts as, say, the money advanced the Kuomintang by America to fight the Communists. Likewise, it would seem reasonable to assume that no realistic American official would seriously expect the new regime to pay the foreign debts acquired by its enemy during a civil war period. That would mean that the people in Shanghai, for example, would have to dig down and pay Uncle Sam for each bomb which the KMT has dropped on them in recent weeks.

However, for the sake of argument, let us apply this same test to the Nationalist regime. True, it "recognizes" foreign debts incurred by itself, as well as some of those acquired by previous regimes, but what has it done about them aside from recognition?

Looking at the matter from a dollars and cents point of view, the chief purpose in mind is to secure repayment. What practical difference exists between non-recognition of past debts and recognition but inability and/or unwillingness to pay? The result, it seems to us, is pretty much the same. In neither case do creditors get paid.

Roughly the same reasoning may be followed if Acheson had in mind past treaties. The KMT recognized past treaties made between previous governments of China and the various foreign powers, as well as those made between China and other countries during the period when it was firmly in the saddle here. However, once again, "recognition" by the KMT did not necessarily mean "implementation."

The new authorities have announced that they will not recognize any previous treaties which they consider as unfair to China or which place this country in an unequal position. This does not mean, however, that all treaties will be considered void.

Mr. Acheson's third point, "That it should rule with the acquiescence of the people who are ruled," can be disposed of rather quickly, assuming that his choice of the word "acquiescence" was purely accidental and that he really meant "consent" or "support." "Acquiescence," as defined by the dictionary means "quiet submission; passive consent." We doubt if any regime in China rules in such fashion. The KMT obviously does not have even the "quiet submission" or "passive consent" of the people in the few districts left under its control, while in areas liberated by the People's forces, the rule can more accurately be

described as being based on the "support" of the vast majority of the people.

With this third point Mr. Acheson, in our opinion, gets down to the fundamental point. Does the regime have the support of the people?

Anyone who has witnessed events in Shanghai in recent years can have few doubts on this score. The terror of the Kuomintang, emphasized at various times by such transient personages as Chiang Ching-kuo and Tang En-po, is something most local residents will be glad to forget. The achievements of the new regime, both from a comparative and an actual point of view, are far too numerous to set down in this space.

Perhaps the simplest and most graphic way to describe the difference, and also the attitude of the people, is to recall the evidence of mass support to the government before and since the liberation. Before the changeover there was—and we think practically all local residents will agree with us—little if any indication of popular support for the government.

Parades and other mass gatherings were banned since experience had shown that they inevitably turned into anti-government demonstrations. From time to time, though, an official demonstration of one sort or another would be ordered. Shops were notified by the police when an occasion of this nature was in the offing and told to put up the Kuomintang flag which each such establishment was required to have on hand.

Frequently these officially supervised demonstrations were rather pitiful, consisting of only a few trucks and cars, half filled with a few recruited school children, supervised by the dean of discipline, who stared somberly at the city as the convoy rushed through town. Rarely did they attract much more than a few curious glances from pedestrians who paused to view the procession go past.

It is indeed difficult to describe the two mass parades which we have witnessed since the liberation. The victory parade was the "biggest and bestest" parade anyone in Shanghai had ever seen.

However, the recent day-long, city-wide demonstration celebrating the establishment of the new government and the occasion of International Peace Day was an even bigger and more festive affair. We believe that it can be said, with a certainty of being almost 99 percent correct, that those Shanghailanders who were not in the parade were on the sidewalks viewing it.

Factory workers, students, teachers, professional groups—virtually every single category and class of people in this city—took part and with obvious enthusiasm. Some estimates place the number actively participating as high as 1,000,000. Certainly it was true that the whole town stood still while all streets were filled with processions from eight or nine o'clock in the morning until well past midnight that evening.

Some die-hards may refuse to allow such examples as evidence, claiming that the parade was "probably ordered" by the government. Such an attitude is obviously unrealistic. We have all seen "ordered" parades from time to time during the KMT's four postwar years in Shanghai and we know just how grim and raggle-taggle they were. It all boils down to the fact that although you can make an unhappy population put on some sort of show, you simply cannot get *all* the people out singing and dancing in the streets unless they *want* to do so.

It seems to us that the time has come for the Truman administration to face the realities of the situation. For the administration and for those who have supported its China policy, either through conviction or expediency, the reality is undoubtedly rather unpleasant. However, the fact remains that it is reality. China has a new government which has come into power with the support of the people and there is every indication that it is here to stay.

Recognition must come. This is obvious. The only question is when. Truman and Acheson will save the American Government considerable future embarrassment, and will do a real service to American business, by swallowing the bitter pill as quickly as possible and extending immediate recognition.

ARE WE OBJECTIVE?

LAST week's issue carried a letter from an American reader who raised the question of whether or not the *Review* was just as objective today as before the liberation of Shanghai. This reader said that she had admired the "courage" of the *Review* in the past because of its criticism of the KMT and she wondered why we had failed to demonstrate this same "courage" by criticizing the Chinese People's Government since the liberation.

She was also concerned over what she termed our "severe" manner of dealing with American Government policy and our lack of criticism of Russia. She further asked if we didn't believe that there were two sides to every question, implying that she thought we were inclined to present only "one side" of the picture.

First, let us say that we believe that we are giving a picture of events in China which is every bit as objective as in the past.

The Kuomintang was a rotten regime. As it neared its end it became even more rotten. All we did was to say what we thought needed to be said about it. We doubt if there was any question of "courage" in our attitude. We are a little poorer for it since we lost the ads of some of the Kuomintang's darlings. However, it was well worth it.

We doubt if the word "criticism" is necessarily synonymous with either "courage" or "honest" journalism. In the case of the Kuomintang, it may have been. However, it is our considered view that the present government has already demonstrated that it is the best regime ever to come to power in this country. It is efficient and its personnel are honest. Granted, it has faults and defects, but to date

they have been of a relatively minor nature and there has already been evidence that it is flexible enough to change policies or procedures that prove erroneous or unsuitable. What more could one ask of a government?

Considering the overall picture, we have found very little to criticize. After all, we are not interested in carrying the torch for this or that special interest which may have found it impossible to operate under the changed conditions. It is, unfortunately, a natural human trait to identify one's own interests—particularly one's financial interests—with the welfare of the country or the people as a whole.

"American Reader" should realize that many people who do not have the courage of their convictions and who are therefore reluctant to "stick their necks out" cover up this fact by making a practice of playing safe by both applauding and criticizing at the same time. A skilful practitioner of this "art" can go on for years, constantly avoiding the necessity for taking a definite stand on any given issue and often may even achieve the reputation of being "reasonable" or "moderate." But it also should be realized that such a masquerade is morally fraudulent and is certain to lead to ultimate disaster.

Most of the criticism which we have heard has come from members of one or more of the categories of non-essential people who have found that the new regime, which is avowedly setting out upon the road to socialism and which has openly stated that its main interest lies with the welfare of the workers and peasants, has put them out of business or has reduced the amount of profit which they were in the past accustomed to make. Such criticism almost inevitably boils down to the fact that some new regulation, aimed at improvement of the general economy or at conserving monies or energies for essential things, has hit the complainant right smack in his pocketbook and therefore he insists upon believing that China must be on the road to ruin.

When and if the day comes when the government embarks upon a program which we honestly believe is detrimental to the best interests of the Chinese people, we will certainly criticize such a procedure.

As to American policy, we can find that there is little to recommend it. The foreign policies of Britain, Russia and a number of other countries at least have been vastly more realistic than have the confused and often openly contradictory fumblings of the Truman administration. China is a case in point.

Not being so concerned with Russia as with the United States, we have had very little occasion to discuss that country or its policies, either favorably or unfavorably, although it is a matter of record that we have both agreed and disagreed with specific Soviet actions in the past. In our special field, though, there has been little in which one could criticize Russia. Her actions in China have not only been most correct but have been based on reality, which certainly cannot be said about American policy toward this country.

The "two sides to every question" query we'll leave for another time. It deserves more space.

25 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

Centralized or Decentralized China?

October 25, 1924.

Democracy vs. Autocracy can by no stretch of the imagination be considered the issue of the war now in progress in North China between the Peking government and Chang Tso-lin. From Chang's manifestoes, one gathers that he would like to appear as the champion of democracy and to have it believed that his defeat dooms China to the autocratic rule of the Chihli Party now in power in Peking. In reality, what Chang has in mind is a decentralized national government as compared to a strongly centralized government which is the aim of the Chihli Party along with the complete unification of China. Chang's conception of democracy is that he be allowed to run Manchuria as he chooses, that Sun Yat-sen manage the affairs of South China to his heart's content, and so on throughout China. . . . What Chang terms as autocratic is any interference by the national government with his rule of Manchuria.

Press Censorship

The Peking government has recently tightened its grip upon the Chinese press. The censorship of news reaching Peking has been stringent since war began, but the new regulation requires all Chinese newspapers in Peking to submit advanced copies to the police for approval before publication. This rule also applies to Chinese news agencies with the result that many agencies have suspended publication

10 Years Ago In *The China Weekly Review*

American Ambassador Grew Speaks

October 28, 1939.

. . . "The American people, from all the thoroughly reliable evidence that comes to them, have good reason to believe that an effort is being made to establish control in Japan's own interest, of large areas on the continent of Asia and to impose upon those areas a system of closed economy. It is this thought, added to the effect of the bombings, the indignities, the manifested interference with American rights, that accounts for the attitude of the American people toward Japan today. It is my belief, and the belief of the American Government and people, that many things injurious to the United States which have been done and are being done by Japanese are wholly needless. We believe that real security and stability in the Far East could be attained without running counter to any American rights whatsoever.

Speech before the American-Japan Society in Tokyo, Oct. 19.

Japanese Rumors

Chungking official quarters stated: "The Japanese are circulating rumors of the imminent conclusion of a Sino-Soviet military pact, and saying the Soviet troops are being concentrated in Sinkiang in order to exert pressure on China to accept the Soviet demands. The Japanese hope, in this manner, to create such a state of alarm over Soviet expansion in China, that the British Ambassador, in conversations with Chinese Government leaders in Chungking, may exert pressure on the Chinese Government to conclude peace with Japan, thus removing the possible danger of Soviet domination in China."

Rounding out their allegations on Sino-Soviet relations, the Japanese profess to see alarm in an article written by Mao Tze-tung, in which the Chinese communist leader was said to have warned that the communists are ready to counteract all attempts to alienate the Communist Party from the Kuomintang. This declaration by Mao the Japanese interpreted as an admission that the Communists and the Kuomintang stand at the crossroads in their relations.

What's Happening At Christian Colleges?

Mary Barrett and Kiang Chun-chang

THERE has been considerable speculation over what the future of the Christian colleges in China will be under the new People's Government. This is a question involving more than religion alone, since these colleges were founded by American and British missionaries, are supported partially by funds from abroad, and have conducted their educational programs along western lines. Thus in a sense they constitute an educational minority problem in a country which is, while not turning away from the west, sifting Western doctrines critically and rejecting those which do not fit in with the philosophy and spirit of the New Democracy.

13 Protestant Colleges

There are 13 Protestant colleges in China. With the liberation of Canton, all but one are now located in the new People's China. In the north are Yenching University in Peking and Cheeloo University in Tsinan; in east China the University of Nanking and Ginling College in Nanking, Soochow University in Soochow, the University of Shanghai and St. John's University in Shanghai, and Hangchow Christian College in Hangchow; further south are Fukien Christian University and Hwa Nan College in Foochow and Lingnan University in Canton; in central China is Hua Chung in Wuchang near Hankow; and in west China is West Union University in Chengtu. The last named is the only Christian college left in Kuomintang territory. The enrollment in these colleges last year was around 11,000, the investment in the broad campus grounds, buildings and installations probably upwards of US$10,000,000.

When the People's Liberation Army approached Tsinan last year, Cheeloo University picked up its skirts and fled to sanctuary in Hangchow and Foochow. Yenching University, on the other hand, calmly awaited the liberation of Peking, and as the PLA pressed southward the other Christian universities followed suit. They had seen changes in China before. Lingnan University, the oldest, was founded in 1866, St. John's in 1879, most of the others in the early 1900's. They had passed from the Manchu Dynasty through the Yuan Shih-kai regime to the Kuomintang republic and had continued their activities virtually unchanged until 1927, when the Kuomintang ordered a greater measure of Chinese participation in the administration of the universities and banned the compulsory teaching of religion.

Classes As Usual

This fall the colleges have resumed classes as usual. Cheeloo University is moving back to Tsinan. In a number of cases—Cheeloo, the University of Shanghai, Hangchow, St. John's, Fukien Christian University—the old presidents are out and the institutions are being run by administrative committees. Enrollments appear to be normal, although in some cases standards have been lowered in order to admit more students. The University of Shanghai, for example, held three separate entrance examinations this summer.

The Christian colleges have had little formal contact with government educational authorities. Certain minimum requirements have been made known: The Kuomintang posts of deans of discipline who spied on and regulated student activities are out. Kuomintang-required courses in San Min Chu I (the KMT Three People's Principles) and Ethics must be dropped. New courses in the New Democracy and related subjects must be added, taught by persons who in the eyes of the government educational authorities are qualified to teach them. Reactionary elements may not direct the schools' administration.

However, judging from the situation in Shanghai, the government role has been a negative one. Few definite regulations have been issued and the changes have been left to the schools themselves to work out, subject to official approval. In curriculum, for example, the Christian universities have been advised to look for guidance to the situation in north China, where the following has been prescribed for the national universities: for freshmen in law and the arts, New Democracy, dialectic and historical materialism and the history of social development must be taught the first half year. New Democracy and a brief history of the Chinese revolution are to be taught the second half year. Roman law in jurisprudence is to be removed and the teaching of normal logic in philosophy is discouraged.

Suitable Teaching Staff

The hiring of suitable personnel to teach these subjects has been left to the colleges themselves, although in some cases the Bureau of Higher Education in Shanghai has recommended persons at the request of the colleges. There have been no faculty or staff dismissals at either St. John's or the University of Shanghai, although it is hardly likely that these institutions, like most others in China, did not contain some Kuomintang elements. With regard to administration, the Bureau of Higher Administration has reserved the right to approve administrative personnel lists submitted by the colleges.

The positive force for change seems to have come from within the universities themselves, mainly from the students. They have demanded representation on the university councils, the right to inspect college financial books and help determine tuition fees, and in general have a larger voice in the affairs of the universities.

While no two universities are alike and the Christian universities in Shanghai may differ in many ways from those in other parts of China, a description of the situation in Shanghai may at least form a part of the general picture of the present position of the Christian universities. To this picture should be added Aurora University which, like Fu Jen University in Peking, is a Catholic institution whose present and future are bound to be linked with that of the 13 Protestant universities.

* * *

St. John's University

IN point of seniority we may start with St. John's University, an Episcopalian institution founded in 1879 with colleges of arts, science, engineering and medicine. St. John's has had a checkered history, affected to a considerable degree by an incident that occurred in 1925, when the university president, F. L. Hawks Pott, refused to let the students raise a Chinese flag on the university campus to commemorate the May 30th incident. A number of professors and students resigned in protest and founded the present Kuang Hua University. This same attitude was again reflected with regard to the Kuomintang educational reforms in 1927, and for 20 years St. John's refused to register itself with the Chinese government. This meant that its diplomas were not recognized in China and created a number of complications, particularly for medical school graduates whose practice was necessarily confined mainly to the international settlement in Shanghai.

After the war, St. John's at last decided to become registered, and a new president, Y. C. Tu, who had been associate general secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, was brought in. Dr. Tu brought with him several new professors to attempt to raise the school's academic standards, which had fallen during the Japanese occupation, and succeeded in obtaining registration in 1947.

The postwar period in China, however, particularly after the breakdown of the Marshall mediation mission, was a turbulent one for students, and St. John's students, under the Tu regime, participated in a number of city-wide student movements. These included support of the Shanghai peace delegation to Nanking in the summer of 1946, protest against the murder by KMT police of a student leader at Chekiang University, and participation in the winter clothing for refugees drive in the winter of 1947. This last activity sounds innocuous enough, but it was opposed by Shanghai's mayor K. C. Wu on the grounds that students should study and should not compete with the government in distributing relief.

US Japan Policy

The climax came with the anti-American policy in Japan movement in the spring of 1948. The beginning of this movement is obscure, as there was widespread sentiment throughout China at the time against the rebuilding of Japanese industry. However, chronologically, the movement started after an address given at the University of Shanghai by the American Consul General, John Cabot, in defense of America's Japan policy, and though it was later joined in by students from most universities in

Shanghai, the St. John's students were credited with sparkplugging it.

President Tu was held responsible for failure to control his students and, because he was unwilling to dismiss those students who had led the movement, he was forced to resign. At the same time, several of the professors he had brought to St. John's were dismissed from the university. No charges were made and, indeed, one of the professors was in America at the time. Although a few professors argued against the action, pointing out that the cause of Christian education would be set back should the students be given the idea that Christian universities were standing in the way of progress, these political dismissals were nevertheless forced through.

After President Tu's departure, the student self-government body was disbanded and students were forbidden to engage in political activities or to publish wall newspapers. Last spring, shortly before liberation, the students again quietly organized themselves by forming a department representatives conference. Thus, when the city was liberated the students were prepared to form a group of the people's preservation corps that guarded public properties until they were taken over by the liberating forces. The student self-governing association is now reformed and is affiliated with the Shanghai Students Association.

St. John's has had no president since President Tu left. Last year, James Hawks Pott Jr. was acting president the first semester and S. H. Chao acting president the second semester. The university is now administered by a presidential committee of three. The University Council, which before liberation was composed exclusively of professors, has been reorganized to include the university dean, five representatives from the professors association, two from the instructors association, and two from the students association. The professors who were dismissed last year have been invited to become reinstated.

* * *

University of Shanghai

THE University of Shanghai, a Baptist institution founded in 1906, is now also being administered by a presidential committee of three. Its president, Henry Lin, resigned last summer. His resignation was not altogether unexpected, since he had been more or less identified with the status quo and was regarded as being pro-American during a time when American policy both in China and Japan was coming under increasing attack.

President Lin kept a tight rein on student activities, and in 1947 he dissolved the student self-government association after the students had struck in protest over the university 'index system. Unlike President Tu at St. John's, he expelled 40 students after this strike and a hunger strike called in response to the Shanghai students' anti-American policy in Japan movement. The students association was permitted to become re-established late last year, however, when Lin was appointed a member of the Shanghai peace delegation to Peiping.

During the battle of Shanghai, the university, which is on the outskirts of town, witnessed a good deal of fighting. President Lin remained on the campus but departed suddenly on May 27 after the entry of the PLA troops. For some time his whereabouts was not known. The American-owned *Shanghai Evening Post* reported: "Dr. Lin left the university by automobile without mentioning his destination to any member of the faculty or student, according to Chinese press reports." He has not been back to the university since, although he is still in Shanghai.

Reform Group

After the liberation a group of professors at the university organized a reform group to push through certain changes in the school's administration. The university council, which formerly consisted solely of such administrative personnel as the president, dean, mission representatives, treasurer, etc., now has been reorganized to include 12 faculty representatives and two students. The faculty members of the council are evenly divided between the reform group and the more conservative members so that the balance of power on any controversial issue rests with the students. As one student leader put it, "We now have veto power."

The reform group has the support of and gives guidance to the more progressive students, who were active during the summer on such projects as summer school work with junior high school students, relief activities and educational work among factory workers. The students did not have far to go for the latter work as the university in situated in a factory district. Ironically enough, the student self-government association now has its headquarters in the office of the former dean of discipline.

* * *

Aurora University

AURORA University still has its old president, Hu Wen-yao, but like St. John's and Shanghai, has added a university council with representatives from the faculty, students, employees and administration. This is perhaps a more radical departure than either of the other two universities, however, since Aurora students before liberation were not allowed to organize and the Chinese faculty members, outweighed by French professors and Jesuit priests, had very little voice in the administration of the school.

Although there were comparatively few progressive students at Aurora before liberation, some of them maintained secret connections with the Shanghai Students Association and, in the guise of singing groups, a student welfare club and fraternities of a social nature, they managed to organize themselves. Eleven Aurora students were on the KMT blacklist and two were arrested shortly before liberation. Those who escaped arrest came back to the campus on May 25, joined forces with the French tramway workers, and formed a branch of the public preservation corps, keeping guard over radio stations, salt administration bureau godowns and post offices. During the summer they enlisted additional students and taught night school classes for factory workers in the vicinity of Aurora.

Now the students have formed a preparatory committee for an Aurora Students Association and seven students have been sent to attend a training class of the New Democratic Youth Corps. The committee is also conducting two study groups among the students.

* * *

Changed Student Attitude

ONE of the consequences of the increased student activity, both in and out of the universities, has been a subtle change in the attitude of the students toward the administration of the Christian colleges. During the course of the lengthy negotiations over the amount of tuition fees, for example, the students for the first time had access to the financial books of their institutions. There they found that the main running expenses have come out of tuition fees, and they therefore feel they should have a proportionate say in the policy of the universities. In most cases the missions own the land and buildings of the school, pay the salaries of foreign professors, are responsible for build-

Students doing "yangko" dance in Shanghai street

ing repairs and upkeep of grounds, and make occasional grants for textbooks, equipment and emergency expenses. In the case of Aurora, the university itself is a large landowner. It was founded in 1903 by Ma Hsiang-pei, a wealthy Chinese Catholic, who gave it a large amount of land.

Another post-liberation development is the position of Chinese and foreign faculty members. At St. John's and the University of Shanghai, the number of foreign faculty members, always relatively small in comparison with Chinese faculty, has been noticeably reduced. St. John's now has about 10 foreign professors, the University of Shanghai only four. At Aurora, however, about half the faculty is French. Most of the Chinese teachers have positions as lecturers or assistants, some of them teach only a few hours a week and have other positions elsewhere, and none of them live on the campus. Consequently, most of them take little interest in the affairs of the university.

There is some complaint about the academic qualifications and experience of some foreign faculty members who have taught at the Christian universities. Although many have been highly trained and qualified teachers, others, it is felt, have not had sufficient background to meet the standards that should be required for university teaching. This is a delicate question, since most foreign professors are appointed and paid for by foreign missions. However, it seems likely that the question of jurisdiction over faculty appointments, Chinese as well as foreign, is one that will inevitably arise in the Christian universities.

Chinese Faculty Members

Problems also arise in connection with Chinese faculty members, many of whom are returned students from America, England or France and some of whom may not be inclined to be receptive to the new political climate in China. Study groups among professors have been organized at the University of Shanghai, and further efforts may be made along these lines elsewhere. An indication of the disinterested attitude prevalent among many Chinese faculty members of Christian institutions may be found in their noticeably slight participation in the recent mammoth parade celebrating the establishment of the People's Republic of China. The citywide professors delegation in the parade included a small group from the University of Shanghai, but only one professor from St. John's and none from Aurora.

The question of religious favoritism in the Christian universities also is mentioned in connection with university administration. While religious influence has become less of an issue in recent years, it still is a factor at Aurora, where Catholic and non-Catholic students live in separate quarters and where, according to some of the student leaders, Catholic students have had the advantage over non-Catholics in job placement and scholarships. This fall the students themselves demanded a part in the awarding of scholarships and held meetings at which scholarship applicants were required to state the details of their cases. The applicants themselves then decided which among them was best qualified to receive scholarships.

This is unquestionably a period of transition for the Christian universities. The changes so far have been minimal and the colleges seem to have been left alone to work out their future course gradually. Christian educators in China are heartened by the fact that two of their colleagues, President Wu Yu-fang of Ginling College and Chancellor C. W. Luh of Yenching University were invited as delegates to the People's Political Consultative Conference in Peking.

How far the mission sponsors and personnel of the Christian colleges will be able to adapt to the new situation remains to be seen. Many of them are now engaged in sincere and honest soul-searching to determine in what ways Christian teaching and indeed Christianity itself must grow if it is to meet the challenge of the new age in China. Far too many, however, must be making what they consider are the minimum concessions in order to be able to continue their activities. The future of the Christian colleges will undoubtedly depend in no small measure upon which attitude prevails.

Education in East China

AN article recently published in the *Sin Wan Jih Pao* indicates the course of the educational transformation gradually getting under way in the schools and colleges of east China. This area, which includes Shanghai and Nanking and the provinces of Shantung, Chekiang, Kiangsu and Anhwei, has some 70,000 educational institutions —primary and middle schools and colleges—and an estimated 500,000 middle school and college students.

The takeover of these institutions, most of which had been under the control of the CC Clique of the Kuomintang, has been smooth, according to the article, because the policy followed has been one of "maintenance of the status quo and gradual introduction of reform."

In Shanghai, for example, where there are 15 public universities and colleges and 28 public middle schools, the authorities called numerous meetings of educational and cultural circles to acquaint them with the new policies and give them assurances that they could continue their work. Most of the university and college presidents and school principals in the east China area have been retained. However, faculty members and students are being trained and encouraged to participate in school administration, and a number of school management committees have been organized.

A great deal of work was done over the summer with regard to both school administration and courses of study. Special courses for teachers were held throughout the east China region. They lasted for one or two months and were devoted to current politics with emphasis on the educational principles of the New Democracy. In Shanghai, more than 4,000 primary school teachers and 2,000 faculty members from institutions of higher learning were reported to have attended these courses.

With regard to curricula, the article reported, reactionary courses such as the Kuomintang's Three People's Principles, Civics and the Boy Scout movement have been dropped and new political courses added. In history courses, the main attention is being centered on general Chinese history, modern Chinese history for the past 100 years, and the history of social development. In the study of geography, stress is laid on the immediate surroundings of the pupils and the coordination of geographical knowledge with current developments. English has been taken out of the curricula of the primary schools, and the number of hours devoted to English in middle schools has been reduced.

As for private schools, the article said, the underlying principle set forth has been thorough observance of the laws and regulations of the People's Government and implementation of New Democratic educational principles. Democracy must be practiced in the schools, and the directors, principals and administrative committees of the institutions must have the approval of the local cultural control authorities. The finances of such institutions must be made public, and in determining tuition fees the capacity of parents to pay, salary needs of the teachers and staff, and general maintenance of the schools must all be taken into account.

One interesting development with regard to public schools has been the consideration given to amalgamation in order to effect greater economy. The China University of Shanghai has been revived as a special institution for the education of overseas Chinese students and others who are interested in doing educational work overseas. Some of the colleges are being merged with those of Fuhtan and Chiaotung universities. Certain colleges at Tung Chi University also are being merged with those at Fuhtan. The Kindergarten Normal College, the Shanghai Normal College and the Physical Cultural Institute are being merged with Nanking University. The Higher School of Technology and the Technological Institute are being amalgamated. Other schools are considering moving to other parts of China, such as the Shanghai College of Commerce which is preparing for removal to Dairen.

At the same time, thousands of students are transferring from the old institutions of learning to the new revolutionary schools set up by the People's Government to provide special training for political workers. Nearly 60,000 students from the colleges and middle schools in east China are reported to have enrolled in the East China University, the People's Revolutionary University of East China, and other training classes.

Outer Mongolia's Five-Year Plan

By William Mandel

(Reprinted from Far Eastern Survey)

THE five-year plan of economic and cultural development adopted in 1947 by the Mongolian People's Republic marked a new phase in that country's history,[1] and an interesting contrast with plans for underdeveloped countries now being discussed in the Western world. Economic planning is a far more daring undertaking for Outer Mongolia today than it was for the USSR 20 years ago. Industry represents a much smaller proportion of the national economy than it did in the Soviet Union of 1927, and settled agriculture—which in Russia was the basis for the collective farming introduced simultaneously with economic planning—is virtually non-existent. The chief occupation in Outer Mongolia is nomadic cattle-raising, which is entirely in private hands, with private holdings as high as 3,000 or 5,000 head of sheep, cows, camels, and horses.

Virtually no current information about Outer Mongolia is available except from Russian publications based on Mongolian government sources. Except where otherwise noted, the data in this article are derived entirely from such materials.[2]

Endless controversy is possible over the degree to which Russians, rather than Mongolians, dictate policy in Outer Mongolia. None will dispute—in fact, both Moscow and Ulan-Bator proudly proclaim — the presence of Russian political and military advisers, scientists, doctors, and teachers. Eleanor Lattimore has commented as follows: "Although it seems obvious that the Russians could have incorporated the Mongolian People's Republic into the Soviet Union if they had wanted to, they did not do so. Nor was there Russian colonization within the Mongol borders."[3] Fedor Mansvetov, former research associate at the Hoover Library, Stanford University, wrote in 1945: "Even more significant, the number of Russian agricultural settlers, never large, decreased. Russians in Mongolia have been army instructors, employees of the government, specialists in the newly-developing industry, doctors, veterinarians, and so on. Every effort was made to replace this temporary Russian population by Mongols."[4]

Be that as it may, the Mongolian government borrows its philosophy and politics from the Soviet Union, with variations, particularly in the time schedule, to suit the conditions of its primitive country. Not even the new Mongol Five-Year Plan envisages either large-scale land settlement or collectivization, although the party in power at Ulan-Bator has stated officially that its ultimate aim is socialism on a Russian model.

The new Five-Year Plan proceeds from the assumption that it is now possible to control factors which only recently were subject to the whim of nature. The average annual temperature in Mongolia is below freezing, and much of its subsoil is eternally frozen, making it a true Arctic country in these respects, despite its southerly latitude. Although there is usually little precipitation, the winter of 1944-45 brought a heavy snowfall which buried pastures too deep for grazing, and cattle died by the million. Drought, epidemics, and ordinary cold have been other causes of drastic loss of livestock—and livestock is and will remain for some years the country's main source of wealth. By 1947, however, or in the years just preceding, measures had been taken to counteract these dangers; their success convinced the government that extended efforts during 1948-52 would make the total number of cattle a predictable factor.

To combat drought, 22,000 wells were sunk in the 13 years from 1932 to 1945, increasing the total number by three and one-half times. Another 20,000 are to be sunk during the Five-Year Plan. There seems to be no fear that this will affect the water table adversely. To combat cattle disease, there were five veterinary doctors and nurses in the whole country in 1924, located at four dispensaries newly established by the Russians. In 1947 there were 942 veterinaries and 5,439 veterinary nurses stationed at 487 dispensaries. They treated 4,900,000 head of livestock that year. By 1952 the number of veterinary nurses is to be increased another 88 percent, and dispensaries 41 percent. Forty thousand additional simple shelters are to be built on the open range, capable of protecting livestock from the wind and of being heated to some degree in extreme frosts. A dozen government-owned haying stations using horse-drawn equipment had been built by 1947, in case of further heavy snows; tenfold expansion of this network gets top priority in the Plan and is expected to provide five tons of hay for every 100 head of cattle by 1952.

On the basis of these measures a 50 percent increase in total livestock is hoped for during the period of the Plan. The number had already doubled between 1924 and 1941, despite the slaughter in 1932 of one-third of the country's cattle during a lama rebellion and an ill-advised attempt at collectivization. The sharp increase up to 1941 was followed by a drop because of Russian requirements when Germany occupied the cattle-rich Ukraine and because of the unusual snow of 1944-45. (Provision of cattle to the USSR was Ulan Bator's chief form of aid under the Mutual Assistance Pact, while Russia earlier helped Mongolia to resist the full scale Japanese offensive at Khalkhin-Gol in 1939). The 1952 goal of 31,000,000 head of livestock, if attained, will represent by far the highest level in Mongolia's history.

Industry, although still a secondary occupation, also presents an interesting picture. In 1919 there were 4,280 handicraftsmen in Ulan-Bator—virtually none anywhere else—in a multitude of little shops averaging less than a dozen employees each. By 1945 there were 50,000 wage or salary earners in industry, transport, communications, education, health, and administration, none of which existed on an organized basis 25 years earlier and most of which had not even been initiated at that time.

The chief industrial enterprise is the very large Industrial Combine, erected in 1930-34, which processes livestock into smoked meats, sausages, leather goods, sheepskin coats and woolen garments. Its output in 1940 had increased five times over 1934, and some 5,000 workers were employed there. By 1947 its production had increased another 50 percent. Other enterprises include a large wool-washing plant, built in 1942; a modern meat-packing plant (1946); a power station; a large machine shop; a wood-working factory; lime and brick works; an auto and truck maintenance garage; a big printing plant issuing four newspapers, five magazines and (from 1940 to 1947) 2,000,000 school books, all in the Mongol tongue; a brewery, a distillery, a confectionery plant, and bakeries.

Native industry and handicrafts in 1941 provided 25 percent of the country's demand for manufactures, the rest being supplied by the USSR. By 1946, judging from statistics, the country had come closer to independence in some lines: between 1940 and 1946 annual production of felt boots doubled, leather footwear rose 29 percent, fur and sheepskin garments ninefold, fabric two and one-half times, and knit goods six and one-half times. The Five-Year Plan provides for a further doubling of industrial output and of foodstuff processing, public eating facilities, and textile manufacture.

Of Mongolia's immense and varied mineral resources, only coal is now exploited. The principal mines are at Nalaikha, 20 miles east of Ulan-Bator. In the past two decades the mining equipment has progressed from wicker baskets and pails to

1. For earlier background see Eleanor Lattimore, "Report on Outer Mongolia," *Far Eastern Survey*, November 6, 1946.
2. The principal source has been *Mongolskaia Narodnaia Respublika* (The Mongolian People's Republic), by N. V. Tsapkin, Gospolitizdat, Moscow, 1948.
3. Lattimore, *loc. cit.*
4. Fedor Mansvetov, "Russia and China in Outer Mongolia," *Foreign Affairs*, October 1945.

coal-cutting machines, powered lifts, electrically-operated pumps, and the like. In 1931-41 mines were opened at four other sites: Bainbulak, Undur-khan, Yugodzyr, and Dzynbulak.

The main industry outside Ulan-Bator is the processing of dairy products. Eighty-five dairies were built in 1941 alone, and by the beginning of 1947 it was announced that 163 were in operation.

Industry is owned by the government or by cooperatives. Government-owned enterprises multiplied their total output four and one-half times from 1940 to 1947, and their share of the country's over-all industrial production rose from 55 to 75 percent. During the same period cooperative manufactures (chiefly handicrafts) increased 88 percent.

The number of Mongols employed in the cooperatives rose from 34 percent of the total in 1937, when Chinese and Russians predominated, to 91 percent in 1940.

Growth of Cooperatives in Outer Mongolia

Year	Number of Co ops	Number of Employees	Value of Output (in tugriks)
1931	14	694	1,600,000
1940	147	9,336	21,600,000
1941	159	9,550	25,900,000
1942	162	9,775	26,900,000
1943	172	10,920	29,300,000
1946	198	12,090	43,900,000

Settled agriculture has made progress, but its importance is still limited. The area sown to crops rose from 51,285 acres in 1940 to 74,265 in 1947. Wheat, barley, and millet are the main crops. A considerable portion of this small acreage belongs to government farms, experimental and exemplary in purpose, whose equipment includes tractors, sowers, and combines.

Transportation is a problem of disproportionate importance because Mongolia, fully one sixth as large as the United States, is reported to have a population of only 900,000. The country is 1,500 miles from east to west and 750 miles from north to south. Small settlements are, on the average, 100 miles apart, while the capital, Ulan-Bator, is 400 miles from the nearest town of importance and 200 miles from the Soviet border. There are no railroads except for the twenty-mile coal line between Ulan-Bator and Nalaikha and a couple of narrow-gauge lines of purely strategic significance from the Trans-Siberian to the easternmost tip of Mongolia, which were used to launch the 1945 offensive against the Japanese in Manchuria. There is now considerable trucking between Ulan-Bator and the Soviet border town of Kiakhta. Aviation is a "natural" for a country of such dimensions, and there is regular (if infrequent) service between Ulan-Bator and the 17 "state capitals," as well as to Moscow and to Ulan-Ude in the Buriat-Mongol Autonomous Republic in the USSR. But the camel and ox remain the chief means of transportation. There are telegraph lines between the capital and the 17 local centers, and telephone service in the largest towns. Mail and passengers travel by plane or by pony express, with stations 20 miles apart.

Commerce has been taken from the hands of the 25 large-scale and hundreds of small-scale Chinese merchants who monopolized it 25 years ago. The central consumers' cooperative organization now handles 73 percent of all imports and 91.4 percent of exports. The government handles the rest. Each of the 322 "townships," whose population average 3,000, has one or more trading posts offering goods for sale and purchasing cattle and produce for the towns and for inter-area and foreign trade. The number of retail sale-and-purchase outlets has risen from 802 to 4,574 since 1932. Most of these outlets are not stores but authorized agents and salesmen who travel with the nomadic herdsmen, carrying their stock in carts or on camels. Membership in consumers' cooperatives has increased from 68,841 in 1934 to 207,000 in 1946. Rural cooperatives handle 53 percent of the country's retail trade. The rest passes through the urban cooperatives and the stores of the Ministry of the Industry. The 1948-52 Plan envisages a doubling of retail trade.

The Republic's foreign trade involves the export of cattle, wool, leather, furs, and meat products, and the import of industrial equipment, building materials, petroleum products, tea, tobacco, cotton textiles, flour, sugar, rice, medicines, candles, matches and silk.

The growth in livestock-raising, industry, and commerce is reflected in the expansion of the financial system. The number of branch banks and savings offices rose from 25 in 1940 to 38 in 1944. With the unification of the far-flung tribes into a single national state and the broadening of government functions in industry, commerce, and public services, the budget has increased steadily: from 1,700,000 tugriks in 1921, it rose to 37,600,000 in 1934; 123,000,000 in 1940; 249,000,000 in 1944; and 323,800,000 in 1946. The central government spends 85 percent of the budget and the remainder is handled independently by the localities.

Skilled shoemaker at work in one of Outer Mongolia's modern shoe factories.

The veterinary service and well-sinking for livestock account for the largest single expenditure in that portion of the budget which is allotted for advancing the national economy. Education and health are also major items. The Republic had one school with 40 pupils in 1921, but by 1947 there were 321 schools with 42,110 pupils, as well as 39 junior high and high schools with 20,478 pupils, plus a university (founded in 1942) whose 663 students were being trained in 38 scientific and professional specialities. Fourteen specialized high schools were training teachers for the lower grades, agriculturalists, veterinary nurses, bookkeepers, medical nurses, store managers, communications electricians, actors, and mechanics. Half of the university professors and a smaller proportion of the high school teachers are Russians. The elementary schools are already completely staffed by Mongols. The schools were housed in felt yurts until 1940, but by 1947 the vast majority were in permanent structures. The problem of education is best understood from the fact that almost all of these schools are boarding schools, since the children's parents travel with their herds.

In 1926 there were 10,060 persons who could read and write (perhaps two percent of the population of school age and older), and this represented considerable progress during the preceding five years. By 1947, 42 percent were literate. It is planned to eliminate illiteracy completely by 1950, on the basis of a law passed in 1947 making it compulsory to learn to read and write. The Five-Year Plan provides for the introduction of universal elementary (four-year) schooling from the age of eight by means of a 20 percent increase in the number of schools and by raising the number of teachers from the 1946 total of 1,698 to 2,612 in 1952. Seven-year schools are to be increased by 65 percent, and ten-year schools 350 percent, with 1,000 additional teachers. One million, five hundred thousand new schoolbooks are to be printed, general publishing is to doubled and newspaper circulation is to be two and one-half times the 1947 level. During the same five-year period the university is expected to graduate 1,214 persons.

As for cultural media, Ulan-Bator now has both Mongol and Chinese repertory theaters (the Mongolia theater produced the first native opera in 1942), a circus that has been in existence since 1941, a community center with amateur groups of various kinds, several movie houses, a film studio that has made half a dozen feature films and (by 1947) 65 newsreels. The country at large has 63 movie houses and portable projectors, 68 permanent community centers, 72 public libraries, and 592 club yurts. There are two professional composers, three painters and a sculptor. The Five-Year Plan provides for the erection in Ulan-Bator (population 70,000) of an elaborate new building for the National Theater, seating 800; a new large movie house; a central library; a central Children's Theater; the organization of a professional national orchestra of native instruments, and several other cultural projects.

Progress in public health has been considerable. Outer Mongolia had no doctors at the time of the Revolution of 1921; as of 1947 there were 528

doctors and trained nurses. Smallpox was eliminated by vaccination during the 1930's. Syphilis, formerly widespread, has been very considerably reduced. In 1938 it was judged an achievement that no one was more than 180 miles from medical care; in 1947 the figure was reduced to a maximum of 50 miles. Under the present Plan the number of medical offices is expected to double. In 1940, out of 17 hospitals, only one took maternity cases; in 1947 there were 31 hospitals, 23 of which took maternity cases, and 40 trained midwives outside of the "state capitals." Hospital beds under the Plan are to be increased by one-third, providing one for every 250 persons in the country. Ulan-Bator itself has a hospital, four poly-clinics, two children's dispensaries, two women's and four children's health centers, a milk kitchen (where the milk sold has been pasteurized since 1933), a venereal dispensary, a tuberculosis dispensary, a system of first aid, and system of visiting nurses. Government-employed wage and salary earners are covered by a complete state-financed social insurance, while cooperatives maintain their own mutual benefit societies and health and child care facilities.

The current situation in Mongolia has been described not unfavorably by observers who are not necessarily disposed to speak well of it. Two Mongol officers, sons of aristocratic families which suffered materially from the changes of the past quarter century, deserted to Peking last year to seek "American assistance." They stated that "the Russians had established cooperatives, wiped out illiteracy, and made some improvement in livestock breeds."[5] A year earlier Christopher Rand wrote from Changchun: "The Russians also seem to have dealt successfully with the Mongols. In Outer Mongolia they are said to have applied their tolerance for racial minorities to good effect. By all accounts the Outer Mongolians have considerable autonomy and are better off economically than they were a generation ago. . ."[6]

The Republic is governed under a Constitution adopted in 1940, discussed previously in this publication.[7] The leading force in the country is the National Revolutionary Party, avowedly Marxist-Leninist, whose aim is to guide the people along a "non-capitalist" course of development. Widening public consciousness is indicated by the growth in membership of these organizations which, unlike the Party, may be joined simply by application. It is noteworthy for a country of Mongolia's traditions that 10 percent of the Party's membership and 25 percent of the 27,000 trade union members are women. There are 6,000 girls in the Revolutionary League of Youth, to which 15 percent of the country's young people belong. The largest organization, however, is the national consumers' cooperative, with 200,000 members—22 percent of the total population.

5. *New York Times*, March 22, 1948.
6. *New York Herald Tribune*, June 17, 1947.
7. Eleanor Lattimore, "A Note on the Constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic," *Far Eastern Survey*, April 7, 1948.

The Week's Business

DURING the week under review, the local market continued to maintain a bullish trend. The wholesale price index for essential commodities for the week ending October 22, according to *Giefang Rhbao*, increased 4.2 percent in comparison with the previous week. The price index for export supplies also registered an advance of 7.6 percent.

To a large extent, the persistent market fluctuations have been attributed to psychological factors rather than to the liberation of Canton, which lent an excuse for a number of dealers to force up quotations.

Textiles Show Increase

Textile quotations recorded the highest jumps during the week. 20's cotton yarn was quoted at JMP930,000 per piece on October 19, but by October 24 it had soared to JMP1,130,000 per piece. The price of 12 lb. Dragon Head sheeting also rose from JMP29,700 to JMP45,000 during the same period. According to statistical data, one piece of 20's cotton yarn was worth 15.7 piculs of medium grade rice during the first half of 1937 prior to the outbreak of the War of Resistance. During the week under review, however, one piece of 20's cotton yarn could bring 30 or more piculs of medium grade rice, a price obviously far from normal.

The price of wheat flour also ruled firm, as outport quotations were reported firm, and the supply of wheat from producing areas has not been abundant. In the five-day period from October 19 to 24, the quotation of Old Cart flour went up by some 25 percent. Rice quotations, on the contrary, remained relatively steady with increasing supplies arriving from producing areas.

With a view to checking the upward trend, the state trading companies in the city have been selling large quantities of supplies. On October 24, the supplies sold by these trading companies included 819 pieces of cotton yarn, 14,240 bolts of cloth, 7,495 bags of wheat flour, and 3,220 piculs of edible oil, valued at more than JMP2,000,000,000.

In the export supplies market, quotations were also on the increase. Keemen tea was sold at JMP190,000 per 100 catties on October 18, and by October 21 it climbed to JMP220,000. White hemp also rose from JMP90,000 to JMP100,000, while tung oil quotations averaged increases of 4.35 percent during the week.

Meanwhile, with recent revisions in the foreign exchange rates, the export of a number of supplies is reported to have become lucrative, and larger profits can be made. The *Ta Kung Pao* recently carried a table showing the changed picture in this respect:

	July 13 percent loss	Sept. 18 percent profit
Hog bristles	11	22
Rape seeds	64	32
Duck feathers	7	73
Tung oil	51	23

During the past month, an increasing number of ships of the A.P. Pattison & Company, Butterfield & Swire Company and the Jardine, Matheson & Company have arrived in port, bringing with them considerable quantities of industrial raw materials. The s.s. Flying Trader brought to Shanghai from Hongkong, on October 3, some 3,500 tons of machineries, newsprint, caustic soda, cod liver oil, pharmaceuticals and other items, and later left with 500 tons of sulfuric acid, cigarettes and skins for Tientsin, 1,500 tons of raw silk, tea and hog bristles for Vladivostok, and 800 tons of cotton piece goods, duck feathers, wool, cotton waste, hog bristles and casings for New York.

Hongkong-Canton Trade

Reports from Hongkong following the liberation of Canton indicated that there will be speedy resumption of trade between the two ports. Private foreign exchange deposited in Hongkong by Chinese nationals is said to total more than US$200,000,000, which should prove sufficient for the importation of essential supplies.

In the local financial market, money remained comparatively tight, mainly as a result of the heavy sales of supplies by the state organs. Turnover at the Shanghai Clearing House also registered increases.

During the week, the Shanghai Branch of the People's Bank resumed remittances with 18 additional cities, including Amoy.

Following is a listing of representative commodity prices for the past week:

	Oct. 19 JMP	Oct. 24 JMP
Parity Deposit Unit	799	884
US dollar (note)	4,200	4,400
20's yarn	930,000	1,120,000
12-lb. cloth	39,700	45,500
Rice, 1st grade	34,500	34,500
Peanut oil	79,000	87,000
Coal briquette	5,500	5,500

NEWS OF THE WEEK

PLA Continues Advance; Yugoslavia Elected to Security Council

COMPLETE disintegration faces the last KMT armies on China's soil as the PLA makes further advances in Northwest and South China and mounts an offensive against Chungking, new KMT capital. When preparations are complete, the PLA is expected to invade Szechuen from southern Shensi in the north, from western Hupeh, and from western Hunan.

Chinese souces report that the PLA is converging on the KMT headquarters in Kweilin, Kwangsi province. PLA forces are said to have bypassed Chuanhsien, 70 miles northwest of the city, and at the same time, other units, striking westward along the West River from Canton, were reported to have reached the Kwangsi border.

The entire staff of the "Rural Reconstruction Commission" has been evacuated from Kweilin to Nanning, 225 miles to the southwest. Chinese press dispatches say that the Nationalists have begun repairing the Burma road. Panic is said to have broken out in Wuchow, former treaty port on the West River inside Kwangsi. KMT military commanders there are said to have commandeered the majority of boats and junks for the evacuation of their troops up river.

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On Other Fronts

REPORTS that the PLA has entered Swatow are confirmed. They liberated this seaport, 170 miles northeast of Hongkong, after waiting outside the city for a week in order to make a peaceful entry. Reports say that heavy casualties were caused there when KMT warships fired on the city after evacuating the last KMT troops.

On Chusan Archipelago, the *New China News Agency* announced the capture of Taochua Island off the Chekiang coast in Hangchow Bay. Taochua is three miles southeast of Tinghai, KMT naval and air base.

It is estimated that 100,000 KMT troops retreating from Canton and other Kwangtung ports evacuated their last mainland strongholds on October 20 for Hainan Island, China's southernmost territory.

The latest unconfirmed reports say that the PLA, fanning out along the South China coast, has taken Swabue, midway between Hongkong and Swatow, and Kongmoon, important town on the West River.

A report from Taiwan, received in Hongkong, said that the offices of the *Central Daily News*, official organ of the KMT in Taipeh, capital of Taiwan, were burned down shortly after midnight on October 22. This was Taipeh's third major fire in the last three days.

The *New China News Agency*, reports that when the PLA liberated Amoy on October 17 after 40 hours of fierce fighting, 26,000 KMT troops were annihilated. Some 14,000 escaped by sea.

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Weighty Trade

SHANGHAI reports said this week that the three American-flagged Isbrandtsen freighters which called at Shanghai recently brought 9,200 tons of general cargo and left with more than 12,000 tons of cargo.

Cargo taken out by the three ships, the *Flying Independent Flying Clipper* and the *Flying Trader*, included more than 3,600 tons for New York, about the same amount for Hongkong, and more than 2,700 tons for North Africa.

Import items among the cargo figures were: 4,500 tons of raw cotton, caustic soda, aniline and other raw materials brought in on the *Flying Independent;* 1,200 tons of raw cotton, pharmaceuticals, machinery, crude rubber, caustic soda and camphor brought in on the *Flying Clipper;* and 3,500 tons of machinery, newsprint, caustic soda, codliver oil, pharmaceuticals and other products brought in on the *Flying Trader*.

The *Flying Independent* took out 20 tons of raw silk and poplin for San Francisco, and 2,868 tons of hog bristles, hog casings, silk waste, cotton waste and silk piece-goods for New York; the *Flying Clipper*, 3,692 tons of cotton yarn, silk piece-goods, hog bristles, casings, tea and medicinal herbs for Hongkong; the *Flying Trader*, 500 tons of sulphuric acid, cigarettes and skins for Tientsin, 1,500 tons of raw silk, tea and hog bristles for Vladivostok, and 800 tons of cotton piece-goods, duck feathers, wool, cotton waste, hog bristles and casings for New York.

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US Chinese Celebrate

FROM America come reports that patriotic overseas Chinese in New York and San Francisco held mass meetings to celebrate the founding of the new People's Republic on October 9th and 10th.

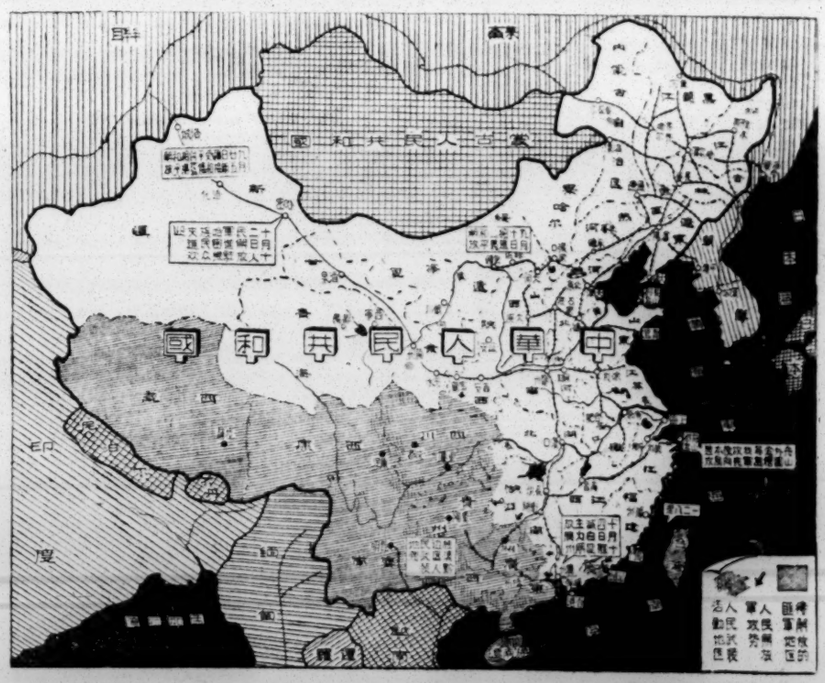
A celebration meeting, held under the auspices of 18 Chinese student cultural bodies in New York, was attended by some 250 representatives, some coming from Washington and Philadelphia.

After the meeting opened, all the delegates stood to salute the new five-star national flag and the portraits of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and Chairman Mao Tze-tung. The national anthem of the People's Republic was then sung.

The meeting passed two resolutions:

1) To issue a manifesto celebrating the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic and the Central People's Government.

2) To issue a warning to T. F. Tsiang, KMT UN representative, and ask him not to issue any further statements in the United Nations General Assembly and other places purporting to defame the Chinese People's Republic.



In the above map, from the Giefang Rhbao, the liberated areas are in white, while the shaded area represents what is left of Kuomintang China. The small crossed areas inside the shaded section show the location of People's guerrillas behind the KMT lines.

In San Francisco on October 9, a celebration meeting being conducted by the Chinese Workers' cooperative society was broken up by some 40 American "loafers" who entered the meeting hall wielding clubs. One Chinese student and an American guest are said to have been injured.

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Yugoslavia Voted In

ON October 20, the votes were counted in the United Nation's Assembly's election to fill the three vacant seats on the UN Security Council. Voting in the first ballot was as follows:

India	56
Ecuador	57
Yugoslavia	37
Czechoslovakia	19
Afghanistan	1
Philippines	1

Ecuador and India were thereby elected to two of the vacant seats, but as both Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia failed to secure the necessary two-thirds majority, a second ballot was held for the remaining vacancy. The vote was:

Yugoslavia	39
Czechoslovakia	19

Thus Yugoslavia was elected, a result that had been foreseen for some days, according to reports from Flushing Meadow.

Immediately after the election, Soviet delegate Andrei Vyshinsky rose to "explain his vote." He said: "These elections are a violation of Article 23 of the Charter, which requires geographical distribution."

Article 23 of the UN Charter, it might be noted, reads as follows:

"The General Assembly shall elect six other members of the United Nations to be non-permanent members of the Security Council, due regard being specially paid in the first instance to the contribution of members of the United Nations to the maintenance of international peace and security and to the other purposes of the organization, and also to equitable geographical distribution."

Vyshinsky, continuing, said that the election of Yugoslavia constituted "a violation of a firm tradition by which retiring members from the Council are replaced by countries of the same geographical region.

"Yugoslavia has been dragged into the Security Council not in accordance with free elections and with established traditions, but as the result of a behind-the-scenes plot between Yugoslavia and the United States and a number of other delegations who have decided to utilize for their own ends the political situation which has arisen between Yugoslavia, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies on the other."

Vyshinsky said further: "The introduction of Yugoslavia into the Security Council shall be considered by the delegation of the Soviet Union as a new violation of the Charter, undermining the very basis, the very foundations of cooperation in the United Nations."

Reports indicate that "considerable mystery" surrounded the voting which put Yugoslavia on the Security Council. The ballots are secret and unsigned and therefore no list of the voters is available. But it is believed that the votes of five British Commonwealth countries and four Scandanavian countries were cast for Czechoslovakia. France, Belgium and the Netherlands voted for Yugoslavia.

Edvard Kardelj, Yugoslav foreign minister, told correspondents that Yugoslavia's position on the Security Council would "contribute to international cooperation and peaceful relations in the world."

The Polish delegation issued a statement saying that Yugoslavia's election was "a dishonest method."

Honan Economy Reported On Upward Swing

REPORTS reaching here in recent weeks from Kaifeng, Chengchow and other leading cities of Honan describe a rapid and steady upturn in the province's economy. Most significant, perhaps, has been the drive put on by various cities throughout the province to secure some of the industrial plants scheduled to be moved from uneconomic coastal areas such as Shanghai. Particular inducements are offered cotton textile mills and tobacco factories since Honan produces large quantities of raw cotton and tobacco.

Recent reports tell of increased collection of various agricultural products for local use or for shipment to industrial areas in return for manufactured goods. In normal years the province produces approximately 220,000,000 catties (one catty=.59 kilos or 1.3 lbs.) of tobacco leaves, 130,000,000 catties of raw cotton, 5,920,000,000 catties of wheat, 400,000,000 catties of peanuts, 24,000,000 catties of tung oil as well as sizable quantities of soya beans, eggs, medicinal herbs, and other farm products.

Ever since the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War, the province has suffered from a disruption of its normal trade with the industrialized coastal areas. Japanese occupation of the coast, and later the province itself, brought dislocation and depression. Kuomintang inability to organize trade immediately after the war brought no relief, despite tremendous quantities of UNRRA goods shipped into the area. The outbreak of the civil war brought a further decline in the region's economy.

Now, for the first time in more than a decade, the economy has hit the upgrade. Communications with the province's natural markets have been largely restored, a few industries have already moved to the larger cities of the province, while more are in the process of moving. In addition, the new authorities have laid out an extensive, overall plan for developing the province's economy to a higher point than ever previously reached. The establishment of local industry, of course, is the most important aspect of this plan, but it also envisages reclamation and other work aimed at restoring to normal or expanding previous agricultural and other undertakings.

In the Kaifeng area, for example, there was in the past a large salt industry. However, for the past several years creeks and canals have been allowed to silt up, with the result that the water has overflowed surrounding lowland and thus reduced the area of the salt fields. Huge armies of unemployed salt workers have been mobilized to dredge the silt so that the salt industry can resume full scale work.

Another move aimed at systematizing trade has been the establishment of the Provincial Trading Company which functions in 10 special districts, controls two branch companies in Chengchow and Kaifeng, supervises four other companies charged with dealing in cotton, tobacco, salt and edible oils, and directs the work of 69 small trading outfits throughout the province.

Recent press dispatches report that during the two months of July and August the company collected a total of 8,500,000 catties of raw cotton, 17,000,000 catties of tobacco leaves, 2,930,000 catties of essence of oil, 1,800,000 catties of peanut oil, 22,000,000 square feet of native cloth, 60,000,000 catties of wheat and large quantities of such other products as foodstuffs, tung oil, hog bristles and sulphur.

Part of these supplies was released for the local populace and the People's Liberation Army in Honan, while the remainder was sent to Shanghai, Hankow, Tientsin and Sian in exchange for 20,000,000 catties of salt, 44,500 bolts of colored cloth, 35,760 bundles of yarn, 3,000 cases of matches, 86,500 pairs of rubber shoes and quantities of gasoline, kerosene, paper and glass.

Indicative of the success of the company in securing an adequate movement of goods is the fact that the number of privately-owned retail stores in the province's nine leading cities increased by 504 during the three months from April to July. The number of privately-operated transportation companies was also reported to have increased substantially.

An interesting point about this company's work is that it does not monopolize the trade to the extent of excluding private business. Actually, the company deals largely with small, already established independent firms. Its function is mainly to ensure the smooth interflow of supplies between villages and cities and between the province and outside areas and to prevent the old style hoarders and speculators from causing unnecessary price hikes or crippling scarcities by means of artificially created shortages.

Chinese Press Opinion

Papers hail new Government appointments, welcome the liberation of Canton and Amoy, and approve of diplomatic ties with Mongolia.

THE appointments of the heads of the various departments of the Administration Council and other Councils and Commissions of the Central People's Government met with wide approval from the press. The *Sin Wen Jih Pao* commented: "A casual glance at the list of appointments shows us that it includes the leaders of all the democratic parties and groups and various other quarters, who are being assigned to different posts of responsibility in accordance with their special capabilities. This shows that the spirit of unity and cooperation of the democratic united front is not only reflected in the composition of the People's Political Consultative Conference, but is also carried out in the choice of the heads of the various departments of the Central Government.

* * *

Liberation of Canton

THE *Giefang Rhbao* deemed the liberation of Canton an event which calls for the most enthusiastic celebrations. However, it warned "We must expect that, though the remnant forces of the KMT bandits are no longer in a position to offer any resistance, the Chiang bandits, being entirely devoid of any sense of human decency, shall resort to even more outrageous measures before they finally expire. The indiscriminate bombing and strafing carried out by bandit planes in Shanghai for the past few days can be compared with the last efforts of a dying viper in emitting its final breath of obnoxious fumes. The *Ta Kung Pao* attached economic significance to the fall of Canton, the center of South China. "The resumption of communications between South China and the Yangtze area, the junction of the Canton-Hankow Railway with the railway lines of North China, East China, and of the Northeast, together with the lines of communication along the coastline and the increase of traffic between the various ports," the paper said, "will be instrumental in bringing about the frustration of the vaunted blockade of the remnant KMT bandits and in their liquidation." With regard to the smuggling that has prevailed because of South China's proximity to Hongkong and Macao, the editorial added, "Every effort should be made to stop the smuggling in order to prevent our system of controlled economy from being sabotaged." The paper also predicted that China will have more control over exchange rates with Hongkong. "Insofar as the domestic value of the Hongkong Dollar is, to a large extent, dependent on the price level of daily necessities supplied from South China," it explained, "the Hongkong Dollar shall, of necessity, be obliged to conform to our needs and automatically adjust its relationship with our currency."

* * *

And of Amoy

PAPERS pointed out that Amoy is of great strategic importance as it possesses a first rate harbor, straddles the sea route between Shanghai and Hongkong and is only separated from Taiwan by a narrow stretch of water. Moreover, as the *Ta Kung Pao*, pointed out, Amoy is the home town of millions of overseas Chinese and receives nearly half of China's annual total of remittances from overseas.

* * *

China and Mongolia

IN 1945, upon the signing of Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, China officially acknowledged the independence of the People's Republic of Mongolia. The establishment of diplomatic relations between the People's Republics of China and of Mongolia put a new light on the long disputed matter of whether Mongolia should remain a part of China or be an independent country. The *Ta Kung Pao*, devoted a long editorial to this subject. "Though close neighbors, the historical relationship between China and Mongolia has been far from happy," it said. "For a couple of hundred years, Mongolia was nominally a part of China.... As a matter of fact, the Han people and the Mongolians have always been two totally separate peoples, who, historically, used to fight one another quite frequently...

"After the Chinese Revolution of 1911, Mongolia became practically independent with even her former slight formal allegiance to China severed....Originally an independent people, the Mongolians have further succeeded in establishing a people's democracy through a program of revolutionary reconstruction. Both in economic and in cultural reconstruction, Mongolia has far surpassed the accomplishments of the semi-feudalistic and semi-colonial China. Do we have any reason or the strength to prevent her from being independent or to refuse to acknowledge her independence?....In principle, we should not only give diplomatic recognition to all revolutionary and progressive attempts at racial self-determination, but it is also for us to respect the strict equality of all races in internal administration."

US Communists Sentenced

IN New York, 10 of the 11 American Communist Party leaders have been sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment and a fine of US$10,000. The eleventh accused, Robert Thompson, was sentenced to three years' imprisonment and a fine of US$10,000.

The prosecution had demanded a 10 year imprisonment sentence.

On October 21, the accused were taken to the Federal Court in New York for sentencing. They arrived under heavy guard while sympathizers outside the court room formed a picket line. About 100 police ringed the court room. They closed all doors and closely scrutinized every person entering the building.

Ten of the prisoners were handcuffed in pairs and the eleventh manacled to another federal prisoner.

Each defendant and his lawyer were permitted to speak before Judge Medina passed sentence.

Eugene Dennis, the principal accused, said: "The nation will look back on this fascist-like trial in the years to come with shame and anger. We face the future with supreme confidence.

"We are not guilty of any crime and least of all of the allegation that we conspire to teach and advocate the overthrow of the government by force and violence."

When Dennis had completed his statement, the other accused rose in order and said that his words would serve for them.

Within an hour, the defense lawyers had filed notices of appeal against the convictions and sentences. Judge Medina denied all bail and the accused were taken to the federal house of detention.

* * *

Forming A Cabinet

PARIS reports on October 21 said that French Radical leader Rene Mayer received the necessary vote from the National Assembly to go ahead in the formation of a new Cabinet for his government.

Mayer has had some difficulty coming to an agreement with the French Socialists on the method which the new government will adopt in conducting the war in Indo-China. Mayer said that his government would work for the "rapid and loyal application" of the agreement which gave Bao Dai authority as head of the Vietnam State within the French Union. For the Socialist group in the Chamber of Deputies, Charles Lussy said Mayer's statement on Indo-China was "incomplete."

Other outstanding points concerned 1) Mayer's policy to restrict the right of civil servants to strike, 2) the question of increased taxation on larger incomes, and 3) the nomination of Socialist Daniel Mayer as Labor Minister.

Rene Mayer said on October 22 that he had reached an agreement with the Socialists on a program, but not on the distribution of Cabinet seats. But, Paris reports, that although the Premier-Designate said that he had reached an agreement with the Socialists on the new Cabinet's policy, this agreement does not go into de-

tails on economic questions and policy on Indo-China.

Jacques Duclos, in the election debate in the National Assembly described Rene Mayer as "the clerk of the Rothschild Bank," and accused him of wanting "to form a ministry against the workers." Noisy scenes followed.

Paris reported on October 23 that M. Mayer had abandoned his attempts to form a Cabinet and handed in his resignation to President Auriol.

President Auriol then gave a mandate to Georges Bidault, former Foreign Minister, and leader of the Popular Republican Party, to form a government.

Local observers are said to be sceptical about M. Bidault's chances of re-uniting the four-party coalition which constituted the only working majority possible in the present Assembly, if the Communist Party is to be excluded from a share in government.

The last two weeks have shown an increasing gap in opinion which divides the Socialists and left-wing Popular Republicans from Radicals and independent conservatives.

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British Troops In Greece

A BRITISH Foreign Office spokesman on October 20 said that the British Government intends to withdraw its troops from Greece "as soon as practicable."

Observers believe that the problem of reducing British forces in Greece depends to a certain extent on the outcome of the present series of British Government deliberations on military expenditures. They believe that should it be decided to cut expenditures, the British Government would probably consider it more important to maintain full strength in the Far East than in the Mediterranean.

It is expected that the British Government would consult with the Athens Government before any decision on the future of British troops in Greece is made. The Foreign Office spokesman said that the British troops were in Greece because they were a "stabilizing factor."

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Hongkong Affairs

ALL ships leaving Hongkong for Tientsin are fully booked months ahead, and a large number of registrations for passages has been made with shipping and airlines in the event of resumption of communications with Shanghai.

Chinese sources in Hongkong disclosed that businessmen were now convinced that the Nationalists must be "written off," and that they must be reconciled to "Liberationist jurisdiction over all China."

Mail services between Hongkong and Canton were resumed on Saturday, according to Hongkong reports. PLA authorities near the Hongkong border have agreed to transmit from Hongkong unregistered letters, at the senders risk.

In Hongkong, the local government published a "Gazette" revoking its September 17 price-freezing orders. At the same time, the authorities introduced price ceilings on local market produce which have been rising in price daily.

What Chinese Magazines Say

Land rental reduction policy enforced in newly-liberated areas contrasted with land reform program carried out in old liberated areas.

"A STUDY of the Regulations Governing the Reduction of Land Rental in the Rural Areas of East China" by Chi Chi-sheng appears in the October 6, 1949 *Economics Weekly*. The East China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party promulgated on September 18, 1949 regulations governing reductions in land rentals and interest rates on loans (in draft form) on September 18, 1949. At the same time regulations for the organization of Peasants' Associations were also drawn up.

. . . "On October 10, 1947," says Chi Chi-sheng, "the Chinese Communist Party promulgated the 'Outline of the Land Law,' which was chiefly aimed at the resumption of the movement for land reform suspended during the war of resistance against Japan. Under the provision of this Outline, land in the old liberated areas was subjected thoroughly to a rational redistribution.

"With reference to land reform in the newly liberated areas, however, a more careful policy was pursued. In keeping with Chairman Mao's directive, land reform was carried out gradually, 'regionally, and by stages.' Finally, in August 1948, confronted with the great increase in the expanse of newly liberated areas and the economic situations therein, the policy of land reform was temporarily suspended in such areas, and replaced by the policy of 'rental reduction and interest rate reduction,' as a preliminary measure to ultimate reform. . .

Chi Chi-sheng continues by analyzing the need for these new measures and in this connection he states that there are six major factors explaining this need: the measures are needed to prepare the way for ultimate land reform, that is to build up the vitality of the peasants whose strength was so seriously sapped by KMT repression; the present measures will reduce the burden of the peasants. . . "In the Kiangnan (south of the Yangtze) areas, the poor peasants and tenant farmers suffer most from land rental. The middle and small class peasants suffer most from usurious loans. The first need after liberation, therefore, is to reduce the burdens of the broad masses of the peasantry through the reduction of rental and interest rates so that the peasants will have an opportunity first to improve their livelihood and develop production". . . Other reasons for need of the present measures are that they will promote agricultural production, meet the demands of the peasants themselves, and although at present conditions for thorough land reform are not ripe, these measures will give some stability of livelihood to the peasants. The fifth factor is that these measures will arrest any possible development of feudal influences.

"And lastly," says the author, "the land measures will also play a role in achieving successful consummation of the program for the realization of the six major tasks for which the people of East China are now exerting their efforts, to smash the enemy's blockade, and to build a new Shanghai. The new rental reduction measures will enable many peasants escaping to Shanghai from the exploitation of landlords to return to their homes for production, while those already in the rural areas will not have to consider leaving them. At the same time, many landlords, feeling that they can still live in peace in the rural areas if they do not resort to illegal exploitation, will have no more need to stay in the cities which are not their homes. Thus the measures will contribute to the successful dispersal of the city populations, restoration of order in the rural areas, increase in agricultural production, promotion of urban-rural relations and development of the interflow of supplies.". . .

The scope of land rent reduction extends to all kinds of lands, public or privately owned, and the standard rate of reduction ranges from 25 to 30 percent. While the regulations specify the writing off of old debts and the suspension of interest payments on debts still respected and on all loans issued by landlords at usurious rates, interest payments shall be stopped but the principal must be repaid.

Pointing out that these measures are quite different from those of the KMT which gave lip-service to a 25 percent rental reduction movement but never implemented any of its paper reforms, Chi Chi-sheng states that widespread formation of Peasants' Organizations with a broad membership is another step which will unify the whole body of working peasants, protect their interests, promote land reform, develop agricultural production and raise the political status and cultural level of peasants by unifying the peasants with "all oppressed peoples for the thorough consummation of the people's democratic revolution against imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism, and the successful realization of the struggle for the construction of a new China that is independent, free, democratic, united and prosperous." . . .

Sino-Soviet Friendship

LIU SHAO-CHI

(The following speech by Mr. Liu Shao-chi, president of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association, was made at the inaugural session of that Association in Peking on October 5. Mr. Liu is recognized as one of the Chinese Communist Party's leading theoreticians and because of the importance of the subject he discusses, the full text of his remarks is given below. The attention of readers is called to the fact that this is an unofficial translation.—Editor).

THE history of the past 30 years has clearly proved that the peoples of the two great nations, China and the Soviet Union, love each other like brothers.

More than 30 years ago, the Czarist government pursued the policy of invading China which evoked the opposition of the Chinese people. Such opposition was entirely justified. But, after the overthrow of the Czarist government and the victory of the October Revolution, the situation underwent a complete change. The people of the Soviet Union, under the leadership of the great Lenin and Stalin, carried out an unprecedentedly friendly policy toward the Chinese people, while the Chinese people also began to accept the friendship of the people and government of the Soviet Union with an unprecedentedly friendly attitude.

The success of the great October Revolution gave all mankind and also the oppressed Chinese people great hopes. . . Just as Comrade Stalin said, "The October Revolution greatly promoted the liberation cause of the oppressed nations of the West and the East . . . building a bridge between the socialist West and the enslaved East." It was only under the inspiration of the October Revolution that the advanced elements of China grasped the weapon of Marxism-Leninism after their long groping, and used this weapon earnestly to analyze and solve problems in China. The Communist Party of China consequently came into being in 1921 and the face of the Chinese revolution was changed anew.

This historical development was understood by Dr. Sun Yat-sen who had led the 1911 revolution. Disappointed over the realities of old China and the old democracy of the Anglo-American type, he welcomed the October Revolution and the Communist Party of China, and, as a result, the three policies of allying with Russia, allying with the Communist Party and assistance to the peasants and workers were formed in 1924. At that time, the Government of the Soviet Union voluntarily abrogated all its prerogatives in China and all unequal treaties concluded with the old government of China during the Czarist period, and rendered truly friendly help to Sun Yat-sen and the revolutionary government of that time. It was just because of this aid that the revolutionary Northern Expedition War was victoriously launched. In March 1925, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, in his will to his successors just before his death, exhorted: "We must ally ourselves in a common struggle with those peoples of the world who treat us on a footing of equality, so that they may cooperate with us in our struggle." This means that an alliance must be made with the Soviet Union.

But after the death of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, his will was entirely violated by his successor, the Chiang Kai-shek reactionary bloc. In 1927, when China's great revolution was on the way to winning a brilliant victory through Kuomintang-Communist cooperation and the aid of the Soviet Union, Chiang Kai-shek sold out the Chinese revolution, betrayed the Chinese people and Dr. Sun Yat-sen, and switched over from allying with the Soviet Union and the Communist Party into opposing them and from helping the peasants and workers into riding roughshod over them, and furthermore launched 10 years of brutal civil war. The Chiang Kai-shek bloc became the running dog of imperialism and the representative of the interests of the feudal compradore class. The friendship and cooperation between the two great nations, China and the Soviet Union, were seriously obstructed and undermined.

In 1937, when the armed forces of Japanese imperialism invaded China and China's anti-Japanese war broke out, the Soviet Union was the first to aid China's war of resistance with manpower and materials, disregarding the past crimes of the Kuomintang.

Despite the great destruction suffered by her, the Soviet Union quickly participated in the war against Japan after winning the war in Europe, annihilated the Japanese Kwantung Army and helped China to liberate the northeast. During the present people's liberation war, the Soviet Union extended trading facilities to our northeast liberated area. The existence of the powerful Soviet Union and the growth of the People's democratic forces in the world especially pinned down a great part of the forces of imperialism, thus enabling the Chinese people's liberation war to be won rapidly.

Now the Chinese people's liberation war and the people's great revolution have won a basic victory and will soon win a complete victory. The Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference has been convened. The formation of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China was proclaimed on October 1 this year. The Soviet Union was the first to recognize and establish new diplomatic relations with the Chinese People's Government on the second day of the proclamation of the founding of the People's Republic of China.

These facts of the past 30 years demonstrate the steadfast friendship of the Soviet people and the Soviet Government toward the Chinese people.

In his letter to the Soviet Union just before his death, Dr. Sun Yat-sen said: "The day will soon dawn when the Soviet Union will welcome a strong and independent China as friend and ally and, in the great war for freedom of the oppressed nations of the world, these two nations will march forward hand in hand to win victory." This day cherished by Dr. Sun Yat-sen has not only dawned, but has entirely become a reality. Henceforth, Chinese history has entered an entirely new era. This has also enabled the friendship between the Chinese and Soviet people to enter into an entirely new era. There is now no force in the world which can impede or undermine the friendship and cooperation between these two peoples. Henceforth there will be boundless development and consolidation of the friendship and cooperation between these two peoples. The close cooperation of these two great nations will be matchless in the world and will play a decisive role in the direction of world development. The close cooperation of these two great nations is therefore in the best interests of mankind and especially in the best interests of the Chinese people. We therefore greatly prize this friendship and cooperation. We will not allow any impeding or undermining of this friendship and cooperation, because that would run counter to the best interests of the great majority of the Chinese people.

China is an economically backward country with industrial production occupying only one-tenth of its total production. At present the Chinese economy has suffered great destruction and the prime task of the Chinese people today is to rehabilitate and speedily develop the people's economy so as to industrialize China. Without the friendly help of the Soviet people and the Soviet Government this task would have been much more difficult. For instance, the rapid restoration of our railways was

due to the help of the Soviet Union. And, for instance, with the help of the Soviet Union, the rehabilitation of the iron and steel industry in Anshan, Shihchingshan, etc. was able to proceed at a much faster pace. The sincere friendly help rendered by the Soviet Union to the Chinese people is therefore one of the favorable conditions for rehabilitating and developing China's economy. The Chinese people should particularly prize their friendship and cooperation with the Soviet people for this reason and also because the Soviet people have been nurtured by the teachings of the great Lenin and Stalin. Such a people is full of boundless sincere friendship of internationalism toward the Chinese people and peoples of the world. Their help to the Chinese people is unconditional and they ask for nothing in return. This help is the same as that of the Chinese Communists, who serve the people unconditionally and ask for nothing in return. Such a friendly spirit of internationalism is incomprehensible to persons with the old bourgeois viewpoint. For instance, when we served the workers and peasants in factories and rural villages, persons looked at us curiously when they saw that we were unafraid of troubles, hardship and danger and did things for them without asking for anything in return. This was because they had never seen such magnanimous and selfless persons who could serve the people unconditionally. The Communists and people of the Soviet Union are just as magnanimous and selfless as the Chinese Communists and can serve the Chinese people unconditionally. This is because Communists throughout the world, including those in China, are a completely new type of people hitherto unknown in history. These people are endowed with the boundless sincere friendly spirit of internationalism and can serve the people in any part of the world unconditionally and indiscriminately. That was why Comrade Mao Tze-tung said we can only look for genuine friendly aid from the Soviet Union.

For example, the Soviet Union has now sent more than 200 specialists to serve in the northeast and other parts of China. When I asked them about the conditions for their services in China, these specialists said: Stalin had sent them to serve in China upon the request of the Communist Party of China. Stalin had instructed them to impart all their knowledge and technique to the Chinese people. When the Chinese people had mastered the know-how and could run their factories and enterprises without difficulty and no longer needed their services in China, they would return to the Soviet Union.

After arriving in China, they are assigned jobs by China. When they are assigned to the various factories, enterprises and economic departments, they work under the responsible Chinese personnel. They only act as advisers, and their pay is the same as that of Chinese engineers of the same grade. They do not receive the very high pay demanded by American and British engineers. Never before in China have foreign engineers worked under such conditions as theirs. It is only Soviet specialists who voluntarily ask for such conditions.

Trade between the Soviet Union and China has now begun. The trading conditions proposed by the Soviet Union are entirely friendly and self-denying and could never be possible with the capitalist countries. These are some of the concrete manifestations of the spirit of internationalism of the Soviet people.

We specially prize this friendship and cooperation between the Chinese and Soviet peoples because the path traversed by the Soviet people is the path which we Chinese people will soon take. The experiences of the Soviet people in national construction are worthy of careful study by the Chinese people. The Chinese revolution attained the victory of today because we learned from the Soviet Union in the past and took "Russia as the teacher." Henceforth, we are going to build up the country, and must likewise take "Russia as the teacher" and study the experiences in national construction of the Soviet people. The Soviet Union has now much scientific knowledge which is entirely new and unknown to the rest of the world. We can learn such scientific knowledge only from the Soviet Union. For example, in the fields of economics, banking, public finance, commerce, education, etc., the Soviet Union has an entirely new set of theory which other countries of the world do not have, not to mention her advanced political science and military science. Soviet culture is an entirely new culture. The pressing task before the Chinese people today is to absorb the new culture of the Soviet Union and to make it the orientation for building up the new China. Hence we are especially in need of the friendly aid and cooperation of the Soviet people.

Thirty-two years ago, Russia was still a backward country. But such conditions have now changed, and she is no longer a backward nation but an advanced state. The Soviet Union has not only the most advanced political and military systems in the world, but her science and technology have caught up and outstripped those of the most advanced countries in the world. Only by correcting the viewpoint of a number of Chinese who believe that Russia is still backward, can it be possible for the Chinese people to learn from the Soviet Union, unhindered and on a large scale.

The industrialization of capitalist countries took more than 100 years while it took only 20 to 30 years in the Soviet Union. We can also industriallize China within 20 years because of the help to the Chinese people extended by the Soviet Union in the spirit of internationalism. Therefore, the close friendship and cooperation between the Chinese and the Soviet peoples are particularly worthy of being prized.

Since the friendship and cooperation between the Chinese and Soviet peoples have such a great significance, our enemies, the imperialists and reactionaries, are not unaware of it. They will consequently concentrate on the undermining of this friendship and cooperation. They are now using various means such as spreading rumors, creating dissension, inveighing and intriguing to undermine Sino-Soviet friendship and cooperation and attempting to create suspicion and dissension between the peoples of these two nations. We must be on our guard against this.

Representing the will of the Chinese people throughout the country, we have undertaken the preparatory work of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association because of the above-mentioned reasons. The purpose of this work is the strengthening, furthering and consolidating of the fraternal friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and China, and the promoting of the interflow of knowledge and experience between the two great nations. We have decided to set up our general association at the new people's capital, Peking, and will set up branches throughout the country. The general association has already finished its preparatory work and its inauguration has been announced today. Some of the branches have also been formed such as those in the northeast, while some are in the process of preparation and will soon be set up. The fact that the broad masses in various places have enthusiastically joined the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association proves that the Chinese people want most earnestly and urgently to cooperate closely with the Soviet people.

We are greatly honored that the Soviet delegation of culture, arts, and science workers led by Comrades Alexander A. Fadeyev and K. M. Simonov are attending today's inaugural conference. This symbolizes that our conference today is really the great unity of "Sino-Soviet friendship." The Soviet comrades headed by Comrade Fadeyev and Comrade Simonov have participated in the inaugural ceremony of the founding of our state on October 1 and the China conference for defending world peace. Today, you are also attending the inaugural conference of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Association. You are our very good international friends at the founding of our People's Republic. You must have noticed the aspirations of our Chinese people! Sino-Soviet friendship is indivisible from the work of defending world peace and from the construction work of our country. One of the great events during the founding of our state is the strengthening of Sino-Soviet friendship and the defense of world peace.

We wish good health to the Soviet delegation and other international representatives and success to the conference.

Long live the great Chinese people!

Long live the great Soviet people!

Long live the immortal friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and China!

Long live Generalissimo Stalin, the great revolutionary teacher of the working people of the world!

The Review's English Lesson CIII

Defining Terms

SINCE the attention of students in China these days is so much directed to social, economic and political questions, it is thought that the English lessons can best serve students' needs by attempting to explain and define a number of these terms and expressions. The editors hope that readers will send in criticisms, requests for definitions, or other ideas which they would like to see dealt with in these columns.

Society (社會): The word 'society' comes from a Latin word meaning 'an associate,' and has acquired many quite different meanings. In the personal sense, it means companionship or association with one's fellows, friendly or intimate intercourse, as in "He found that the society of his friends usually took him out of his despairing moods." The word also might mean a voluntary association for common ends, as "a society of writers." In the widest sense, it applies to the whole social order, especially a state or system restricting and governing the individual. A sociological definition says "a society is an enduring, cooperating social group so functioning as to maintain itself and perpetuate the species."

Socialism (社會主義): A noun, derived from 'social,' denoting the political and economic theory of social organization based upon collective ownership and democratic management of the essential means for the production and distribution of goods. 'Socialism' of course also applies to the policy or practice based upon this theory; 'socialistic' is the adjective.

Class struggle (階級鬥爭): According to Marx-Leninism, all societies have been organized into classes, or graduations of social rank, which stand in opposition to each other and carry on an unceasing struggle.

Freeman (自由民): A member of an ancient society, in which slavery was an accepted part of the social structure, who enjoyed liberty, especially civil and political liberty, as opposed to those without such rights, the slaves (see below). Later, in the middle ages, freemen were citizens of towns or boroughs, as distinguished from the serfs, who were tied to the land.

Slave (奴隸): From the Greek 'Sklabos'; one who is held in bondage, the absolute property of his master, who can be sold, put to death, at will. Distinguished from 'serf' (see below).

Patrician (貴族): From the Latin 'patres,' meaning fathers or senators. In ancient Rome, originally one of any of the families forming the body of Roman citizens, before the growth of the plebeian class (see below); later in Roman history, a patrician was a noble by right of birth or privilege. With Constantine and afterwards, a patrician was one of an order of nobility founded by him. In mediaeval Italy, a patrician was a hereditary noble of a city republic, and later, in Germany, one of a class of citizens eligible for the senate or council in the German free cities and towns.

Plebeian (平民): The adjective form of the noun 'plebs,' which in ancient Rome composed the lower or secondary class of the people, originally much inferior to the patricians; but later on winning practically equal political rights.

Lord (地主): From two Anglo-Saxon words meaning literally 'breadkeeper.' In feudal Europe, the lord was the proprietor, the owner of land, from whom the vassals or serfs held 'fees' or 'benefices,' that is from whom they rented the land they tilled.

Serf (農奴): From the Latin word meaning a servant, slave; thus, originally a slave. Later, in feudal Europe, a serf was a person attached to the soil and sold with it into the service of any purchaser. A serf was thus bound to the land, but he differed from the slave of ancient times in that the lord did not have the power of life and death over him, and in fact was supposed to offer him protection, etc.

Guild-master (行東): A full member of a guild, which was an association of men with similar pursuits, or common interests or aims, for mutual aid protection.

Journeyman (僱工): Literally, day-laborer; in guild organization, one who had completed his apprenticeship and had learned a handicrafted or trade.

Revolution (革命): A revolution (whence comes the adjective, 'revolutionary,' the verb is 'to revolt'), in political science, is a rundamental change in political organization; the overthrow or renunciation of one government or ruler by those governed, and the substitution of another. As, the American Revolution (1775-83), the English Revolution (1688-89), the French Revolution (1775-83).

Speaking of the background of the American Revolution, Nevins and Commager, in their "Pocket History of the United States," make some interesting observations. In a discussion of the general causes for the discontent of the colonists in the American colonies, they point out that "Throughout the (revolutionary) war, by John Adams' own testimony, fully one-third of the colonists remained opposed to the rebellion, one-third were indifferent . . . the Revolution prior to 1776 was in the minds of part of the people, and the struggle . . . was a struggle to impose it on the rest of the people and to make the British government recognize it."

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